[All ceremonies connected with the wearing of the upi are marked for category 881 (Puberty and Initiation) although the first or wapi ceremony is held when the boy is about eight or nine.]

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liable to come to harm through black magic, or, as they call it, 565
'poison', which will probably be made against them by those who 754
are jealous of their power, though I do not think there is any im- 789
plied suggestion that a *tsunaun*'s direct heirs would try to kill
him in order to succeed to the headship of the lineage. Their
danger is never far from the minds of members of the *tsunaun*
lineage. It is responsible for some at least of the ritual surrounding
the lives of all who are *tsunaun*. On the occasion of a ceremony [852]
performed for the child Wanias, I asked why wailing by the women,
resembling the ritual wailing for the dead, played such a prominent
part in the proceedings, and was told that it was because they
were sorry for Wanias, who would probably meet his death by
poison because he was *tsunaun*.

RELATIONSHIP SYSTEM

Returning again to the single individual who was our starting- 601
point, we have now to examine his position in regard to the people
to whom he is connected by ties either of blood or marriage. The
relationship system is, as is to be expected in Melanesia, of the kind
termed 'classificatory', in which the same term is applied to a
number of individuals standing to the person who uses the term
in different physiological relationships, varying much in the near-
ness of the blood tie between them. But in using these terms he
does not lose sight of such distinctions, although they are not
expressed in his nomenclature. There are always certain people
who stand closer to him than others to whom he applies the same
relationship term, while those who are actually farthest removed
in blood, especially if also distant in residence, may mean to him
almost nothing, although, when questioned, he includes them in
his application of the term.[1] In every case, relatives who are also

[1] The rendering of a Melanesian relationship term by an English word belonging to our own relationship system is unsatisfactory, because it can hardly fail to suggest a spurious similarity in connotation to that which we habitually associate with the word chosen as a translation. But it would be difficult to render a native system intelligible without proceeding to the unfamiliar by way of the familiar, and it has therefore been customary to adopt, as a conventional translation for each term, the English name for the relative who, of all those to whom the term is applied, stands physiologically nearest to the individual. For example, the word applied to the mother, mother's sister, father's sister, father's other wives, father's brother's wife, &c., is conventionally translated 'mother'. This may serve so long as it is made clear that there is no confusion in the mind of the native speaker between the various individuals to whom he applies the term, and that a very definite distinction is always present between

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Watʃitʃio is seldom used as a term of address. A child will call his *watʃitʃio* by the same term of address as he uses for his mother —*na*—and may refer to her, in speaking to a third person, as *tʃinanē* (my mother), while she, for her part, may call him *bai'i pio* (my child), but without showing him any of the endearments which normally accompany the *tʃina- : bai'i* relationship. It will be remembered that she belongs to the same generation as the women he refers to as *tʃina-*. This term seems to be in more general use in everyday life, *watʃitʃio* being a more formal mode of reference especially required on ceremonial occasions, and for this reason it was some time before I appreciated its importance.

It is tempting to speculate on the meaning of this relationship between a woman and the children of her cross-cousins, with such strong taboos attached to it. I do not know of any similar stress laid on this tie elsewhere. It seems just possible that it may be a relic of some marriage system formerly obtaining, in which the cross-cousin was the preferred mate, as is the case in many Melanesian communities. But I have no actual evidence or information in support of this theory, and it would not account for the inclusion of the children of female cross-cousins (i.e. the children of the father's sister's daughter and the mother's brother's daughter).[1]

I should like tentatively to suggest another explanation. If reference be made to the account of the marriage ceremony on p. 91, and of the various ceremonies performed for a child described on p. 186 (no. 3), on p. 187 (no. 5), and on p. 189 (no. 7), it will be seen that the individual's *watʃitʃio* takes a prominent part in each, and that her role seems to be either to impersonate the child (as in the ceremony for first placing on the ground, where the *watʃitʃio* is decorated with the same kind of leaves as is the child himself), or, on other occasions, to act as a substitute for the child, undertaking first the action he is about to engage upon, as if to interpose herself between him and the danger involved in so doing. For example, in the ceremony for first being carried on his mother's pack, one of his *watʃitʃio*, after being carried in this way by another woman, herself carries the child on the same pack,

[1] Mrs. Seligman has drawn my attention to the fact that marriage with the daughter of the female cross-cousin is an essential feature of Ambrym culture (see A. Bernard Deacon, 'The Regulation of Marriage in Ambrym', *J.R.A.I.* lvii, pp. 325 et seq.). In Ambrym marriage with the widow of the mother's brother is also allowed. The same term is, however, not used for mother's brother's wife and for child of the cross-cousin as in North Bougainville.

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temporarily setting aside the taboo on physical contact. Again, in the marriage ceremony, the imitation of the sexual act gone through with one another by the women who stand in that relationship to the bridegroom might be interpreted as taking over to themselves the danger attaching to entry into the married state. This would account for the prohibition against personal contact and also for the strong taboo against marriage. But the natives never at any time made any comments which would suggest that such an idea was involved, and this interpretation of the function of the *watʃttʃio* is therefore hypothetical only.

10. *Tsubu- : tsubna'in.*

All the grandparents, on both sides of the house, and of both sexes, come under the designation *tsubunē*, and any ancestor farther back than the grandparental generation is given the same appellation. Similarly, all the grandchildren are referred to as *tsubna'in pio*, which also embraces great-grandchildren, though it would appear to be rare for a native to live to be old enough to see the children of the fourth descending generation. Neither *tsubunē* nor *tsubna'in* is a term of address, *bubu* being used instead of both of them when speaking directly to the relative concerned.

This is a very close and affectionate relationship, even more than is commonly the case between grandparent and grandchild among ourselves. No taboos or restrictions of any sort are attached to it. As usual, the relatives on the mother's side, especially the mother's mother, stand closer to the child than do the other people to whom he applies the term, but, as usual, much depends on proximity. The grandparents take a large part in looking after the children while they are small, especially when they become of an age to be left at home when the mother goes to the taro garden, or when she has a yet smaller infant to tend. One old man at Kurtatchi was always to be seen with his grandchild on his back, and when the young family went off to visit their other relations he wandered about quite disconsolately waiting for their return; he was typical of many. It is the duty of the grandchildren to care for their grandparents in old age. There were two blind women at Kurtatchi who were always attended and led about by their small granddaughters. The relationship might also be illustrated by plentiful examples from my collection of tales.

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854 baby's eyes and taking it away suddenly with '*Bidr-r-r-r-r!*' Another favourite game is for the mother to sit behind the child, and taking his head between her palms, to rock it gently backwards and forwards, singing: '*A gundra rē'ē, a gundra rē'ē, ku-ku-ku-ku tʃidr*,' with tremendous emphasis on the last syllable, at which she pulls the baby backwards on to her lap. These words are said to have no meaning, as is also the case with other phrases used in games (see also p. 182). It may be that some of these are survivals from some forgotten dialect, or, again, they may be just nonsense. After all, how many of us could give a meaning to 'Eenie, meenie, mynie, mo!' or explain 'Hey diddle, diddle, the cat and the fiddle'?

As soon as he is permitted by custom, i.e. after the child has been washed for the first time, the father begins to help the mother by doing small services for the child, and he will spend much time playing with it and fondling it. A man who had lost his youngest child, a boy about a year old, said to me, with tears in his eyes: 'Now I have nothing to hold.' One of the ways in which a woman punishes her husband when he has displeased her, is by going back to her own people and taking the baby. This happened several times to men of my acquaintance; the result was always the same, the man was so desolate without his youngster that he went and made his peace with its mother and persuaded her to come home again.

852 A little ceremony which is performed for all children, whether *tsunaun* or commoners, illustrates the relation which exists between father and child. When the child has recovered from yaws, the mother's people kill a pig and cook it, and then come and present it, together with ceremonial pudding, to the father, 'because he has tended the child while it was ill and washed its sores'. The phrase used in this connexion is *wataman bai'i*, which might be translated 'to father the child' (*wa-* causative prefix, *tama* = father). It will be remembered that the child does not belong to its father's clan. This presentation by its mother's people seems to be an acknowledgement of services which the father is under no obligation to perform.

Learning to talk.

868 Parents encourage tiny children in their efforts at talking. They themselves talk to their children a great deal, the father as much as, if not more than, the mother. It is a common thing to see father

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789 elaborate than most of them is the following, especially intended
856 to strengthen a child whose mother has died when it is very small:
824 Take the stem of the creeper *asam* near the root (*asam* is *Lygodium dichotomum*, the root of which is used as a contraceptive; the essential quality in both uses is apparently the toughness and hardness of the plant). Take the leaves of the following plants: *worato*, *bakbak* (*Eleusine indica*), *takop*, *tom-tom* (these are both varieties of cordyline), *waras* (a grass, *Digitaria pruriens*), and a small plant with a blue flower of which my informant did not know the name.

Pound these leaves and the stem of *asam* all together into a pulp, by means of a stone. Mix with this pulp a little *owan* (red powder used for many magical purposes, consisting of impure iron oxide). Wrap up the mixture in a dried banana leaf. Pour a little water inside the bundle, leave it for a little while so that the water will take up the 'smell' of the leaves. Then squeeze the water out into a coco-nut shell and give it to the child to drink.

Then unfasten the bundle, take out the leaves, and rub the child's body with them, pulling out all its extremities, legs, toes, arms, fingers, each separately. Then put the leaves back into a bundle, tie it up very strongly with the outside skin of the stem of *asam* (the strongest fastening these people have, used also to tie together the planks of a canoe), and put the bundle carefully away in a safe place in the hut. Here it must remain till the child is grown up. If a rat eats it, another bundle must be prepared in the same way.

Medicines to make the child grow strong and big are chosen according to the size of the child. Most of the plants thus used have not been identified.

789 All of the foregoing may be used for any child, be it tsunaun or
565 commoner. The infancy of a child who is tsunaun is further safe-
852 guarded by a series of ceremonies which are either omitted, or
856 performed with far less elaborate detail for a commoner. The fear of 'poison' and harmful magic is never absent from the thoughts of the near relatives of a child of rank, and every step of its way is surrounded by infinite precautions.

CEREMONIES CONNECTED WITH THE INFANCY OF A CHILD

TSUNAUN

852 As the children who were born during my residence were all
565 commoners, my knowledge of most of these ceremonies is limited to what I could learn from various informants. Some of the later ones I was fortunately able to witness. They are

here described as nearly as I could ascertain in the order in which they would be performed.

1. *At birth.*

While a woman *tsunaun* is in labour, every one in the village abstains from food. As soon as the child is born, the slit-gong is beaten, and a feast is held, with food provided by the child's relatives. Any one connected with the child, both on its mother's and its father's side, will contribute food, and the more food provided the greater is the prestige. The food is distributed among the people of the village, and there is a *kōma* that night. For the birth of a commoner there is no general fasting, no slit-gong, no feast, and no *kōma*.

2. *At first washing.*

All the people of the village, both men and women, must abstain from eating pig and fish till the child is washed on the fifth day. Then a pig is killed, and cooked in a pot, not roasted as is the general method of cooking pigs for feasts. All the women prepare large quantities of taro. A fire is made, small pieces of taro, pig, and fish are placed in the fire, and the *urar* of all the important people of the child's clan, not only those who died long since, but also those who have not long been dead, are called upon by name, with the adjuration:

'Komu tsura, nom en a tamū, a ta gū, a ta ien, sa
Here is fire, you eat taro, pig, fish, so that
nabau en sas ta ta ien to babēn ner, a ta gū mē.'
the people (may) eat again fish forbidden, pig also.

The *urar* hear this; they come and eat what has been burned. This lifts the taboo on eating flesh foods for the people of the village and for the child's relatives, except its parents.

3. *In the early days.*

'While it is still a new baby', there is a ceremony involving those of its relatives who stand to the child in the relationship called *matfitfio*, in particular its mother's mother's brother's daughters. The men of the village go out on to the reef and catch a number of the tiny fish called *karios*. These are about the size of a large minnow, and are usually regarded as not worth catching, except by small children for fun. They are brought to the child's hut,

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852 565 602 574 where they are carefully wrapped up in leaves, one *karios* in each package. The women cook some taro and cut it into very small pieces. Little baskets made of plaited coco-nut leaves are prepared, and are filled with these small pieces of taro. On the top of each basket is put a package containing *karios*, the relish. Each of the women who are *watʃitʃio* to the child then receives one of these baskets, and must eat the contents sitting on the *tagoan*, the front or men's verandah, if the child is a boy, on the *babots*, the back or women's verandah, if it is a girl. They may, if they wish, send some of the food to other women, who do not, however, partake of it in their company. But all the small children of the village, who come crowding round, are given some *karios* and taro. Then [417] a small enclosure is prepared, on the women's side of the huts, in any convenient vacant spot. It is made of small logs. They explained that it was the same sort of enclosure as they make to keep wild pigs caught in preparation for a feast, which is made of logs piled up one on top of another. Into this enclosed space must be thrown all the taro peelings and other remains of the little feast, and the baskets in which taro and *karios* had been placed, which must first be torn to pieces. After this time the child's excreta [894] must be thrown into this enclosure, until it can walk. It is too dangerous to throw them away into the bush as is done with those of a commoner, since some ill-disposed person might find them and use them to the child's harm.

4. *For first coming outside hut.*

852 565 [417] As was previously stated, in the case of persons who are *tsunaun*, mother and child must remain inside the hut for ten days after birth instead of the five prescribed for a commoner. On the ninth day a palisade is erected round the hut, making a little enclosure. Next day the child is brought out, coming first into this enclosure. Then all the women of the village sit down with their legs touching (*asaran paror a gutan*, legs are fixed together), in the same position as is used in the marriage ceremony. The line of women stretches between the hut in which the child was born and the shore. Then a man, who may be one of the child's grandfathers, of either clan, or may be no relation, takes up the child and walks with it over the outstretched legs of the women to the beach. If there are not enough women in the village to reach so far, those at the back get up and go and sit down again in front of the line when the child

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has passed over them. The child is not taken into the water, but held at the brink, while all the men and women of the village enter the sea and play together, the women seizing the men and letting go again, throwing sand and water at one another's heads. 'They play because the child is *tsunaun*.' Then the child is carried back to the hut and all the people return to the village.

After that, the child and also its mother and grandmother are decorated with aromatic and flowering plants, and the mother carries her baby round the village, calling at various houses, to show them the child. Mother and child then return to their own hut, and all the women gather at the *babots*, where they are all given taro and fish, but no pig.

5. *For first touching the ground.*

During the early part of its life a child who is *tsunaun* must never be allowed to touch the ground, but must always be carried or nursed. 'A long time' after the ceremony just described, a further ceremony is carried out, to remove this taboo.

When the time has been settled, all the huts in the village are told about it, and all the women make ceremonial pudding (usually the work of men), and roll it up into very small balls, and cook it in one of the special-shaped pots called *kepa* (Pl. 61*a*, No. 3). They make a basket out of three fronds of the coco-nut palm leaf, and fill the basket with the little balls of pudding. Then they go into the bush and search for certain small plants, *katʃin* and *sekwit*, aromatic plants with very small leaves. They rub the leaves in their hands, to bring out the aromatic qualities, and tie some on to the wrists of the child, and of one of the women who stand to the child in the relationship of *watʃitʃio*. The child has more leaves fastened to his ankles, and some are hung round his neck. These ornaments must be worn for the rest of that day.

The next day all the women of the village collect clean sand, and spread it on the ground in front of the hut where the child lives, i.e. at the *tagoan*. First of all they spread a layer of coco-nut palm leaves on the ground, on the top of these they lay a woman's hood, and then spread the sand on the top of the hood. Fresh *sekwit* leaves are then fastened to the child's wrist, and he is put down to sit on the sand, and plays with it. Then everybody eats some of the small balls of ceremonial pudding. The basket in which it was passed round must not be thrown away. A woman

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852 565 574 commoner picks it up and stores it away carefully in the rafters of her hut, where it remains indefinitely. The women all play with the remaining balls of ceremonial pudding, throwing them at each other; when they are tired of this they eat up the remains of the taro.

After this the child may be put down to sit or play on the ground at any time. He continues to wear the *sekwit* leaves for a few days.

852 565 782 When the child's parents think it is time to take off the *sekwit* leaves, they make more ceremonial pudding, and invite the women of the village again. A fire is made, and some of the pudding is burnt on it, while the *urar* are called upon to come and eat; but not this time individually by name.

'Urar, komu tsura, nom en a tamū, mom sek rik nom
Spirits, here is fire you eat taro, we (exclusive form) want loosen

u sekwit kurin a bai'i, bai'i to tsuga non ia.'
the plant (from) hand of child, child dislikes it.

Then powdered lime is spread round the fire in a circle, the women dab some on their ears, then they take the *sekwit* leaves off the child and throw them away into the enclosure made on the occasion of a previous ceremony.

6. *On returning from the first journey.*

852 565 This I saw done at Petats; it happens also in the Bougainville villages, so I have included it in the series. In the Petats dialect it is called *lolōas*, in the Kurtatchi dialect *wakōkoa*. It is also performed for adults after a particularly difficult trip, and for important visitors who come from a distance, but for children only on this one occasion.

On the evening of the day when Tiusai had taken her baby son, Kaup, with her to fish on the reef for the first time, she sat on her verandah with Kari, her husband's mother's sister (*haihis*), and Bohin, her husband's mother's sister's son's wife (*munihan*.) Her own people live on another island. Some of the younger women of the village brought large bush-taro leaves and twisted them up into bags which would hold water. Then they went into the sea and filled them with sea-water, and running at full speed through the village, poured the water over the legs of the three women. None was poured over the legs of the child. This they did twice. The leaves were then hung up on the sides of the hut, where they

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remained till after the evening meal, then they were taken down and thrown away.

7. For sitting on his mother's pack.

Commoner children are put, while still fairly small, to ride on the top of their mother's pack—the burden of taro or firewood which is always carried rucksack fashion, by means of straps round the shoulders—without any introductory ritual. But before a child of rank can do this a special ceremony must be held. I saw it done at Kurtatchi, for Wanias, son of Pinari's sister's daughter, *tsunaun* in the direct line of succession. He was then somewhere about four years old.

The proceedings started at sundown, by a number of women walking round in a wheel-like formation, the role usually played by men in an ordinary *kōma*, giving the while the monotonous four notes which always accompanies their dance (Pl. 17). Pesē, who stands to Wanias in the relationship of *watʃitʃio*, carried a new pack, consisting of a new sling of banana palm fibre, smeared with red paint, and ornamented with shell rattles and pearl buttons obtained from a store, tied round a large new *kōbū*, rolled up empty. The pack thus prepared is called *tin*, and is like that usually carried to the taro gardens to bring back the load. Pesē walked in the centre of the group. Presently a little girl (a commoner a little older than Wanias, not related to him) was placed on the top of the pack, sitting just as Wanias will sit in future. The women continued to parade round and round. One woman carried a bow and arrows, another an axe, another a canoe paddle. They might also have had a fishing-net. These are all objects symbolic of a man's activities. If the ceremony had been for a girl they would have had packs instead of the bow and arrows and the axe, but the canoe paddle would have figured just the same, as women are also expert paddlers. They walked round going through the motions of using these things. Other women jumped about, gesticulating wildly. I was told that the two women who knew this dance the best were both ill, so it was not being done as well as it might have been. Presently Takok, who is not related to Wanias, took the pack and carried Pesē on it for some time. Pesē is a big woman, so it must have been quite a task for Takok, who is by no means young.

This continued for a couple of hours or so, with the slit-gong beating at short intervals, the signal for renewed efforts both of

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voice and leg, whenever it sounded. Wanias was not present, it would have been considered very unlucky if he had accidentally put in an appearance. Apparently this performance is somewhat in the nature of a rehearsal.

All the next day the whole of the male population of the village was employed in making ceremonial pudding (see Pl. 33). Some of the men varied their labours by making Pan-pipes, and the women were making baskets of plaited coco-nut palm leaves to hold the pudding. These they made smaller than usual, because they were for a child. When the pudding-making was finished the slit-gong was sounded.

Just before sundown two specially large taro tubers, with leaves and stalk still attached, were laid on the front verandah (*tagoan*) of Wanias's maternal grandmother's hut, where he and his mother live (his father is dead). On these was laid a very elaborately worked woman's hood, covered with an embroidered pattern made of strips of fibre and dried leaves, dyed red and brown, the kind of hood women wear on special occasions. On top of this was placed a sucking pig, held down by one of the older men of the village. Pinari, Wanias's mother's mother's brother, whom he calls *tsubunē* (my grandfather), took some lengths of shell currency (*beroan*) and rubbed the pig's sides with it, beginning at the tail. Then he took a large pinna shell full of red paint (*oin*) mixed with coco-nut oil, and rubbed the pig in the same way with that, then with the specially prepared pack, and then with a red loin-cloth. When all these things, which were to come in contact with Wanias in the course of the ceremony, had been passed from head to tail of the pig, it was allowed to run away. Then a number of the women, of both clans, came up in turn, and each sat on the hood for a minute. Two of the women who were *watʃitʃio* to Wanias came first, but others followed who bore no relationship to him. A little girl, younger than Wanias, not related, but of the same clan, was held down on the hood while her hair was carefully trimmed by Koawu, one of the older men (it does not seem to matter who undertakes this duty). He trimmed it all round, particularly just over the temples and behind the ears, making a clean line. The way having been thus prepared, Rus, Wanias's mother, brought the little boy out of the hut and sat down on the hood with him on her lap. Koawu began to trim his hair in the same way. He was not at all pleased with the process, and wriggled so much that it

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became impossible to continue cutting. He was taken off the hood round to the women's side of the hut, and the hair-dressing operations were finished by two young men, to the accompaniment of his screams. The cutting was done with a razor, of which there are a few in the village. In the olden days they would have used a black-lip oyster shell. When the trimming had been completed to the barbers' satisfaction, Rus took Wanias back to the front verandah and sat down again on the hood, while she covered his head with red paint, except for two dabs of black one on each side just above his ears, he very restless the while. A dab of brighter red was put on his ears, and a streak from the external angle of his eyes sloping down towards the ears.

All this time there were great hair-dressing operations going on all over the village. All the young children, of both sexes, and some of the older girls had their hair trimmed and covered with red paint mixed with coco-nut oil. (The older boys, who wore the *upi*, had no share in this part of the proceedings.) A number of women from neighbouring villages arrived, and were also painted.

Then there was an interval, during which some taro was eaten. Then the women began to congregate in the open space in the centre of the village. Counting visitors, there were perhaps some fifty or more women present. All wore their hoods, except the smallest of the girls, and one or two women who had renounced the custom and did not possess hoods—these wore white loin-cloths over their heads. They started marching round in wheel formation as they had done the previous evening, one carrying the new pack, others bows and arrows, axes, and paddles, as before. After some time there was another interval, at the end of which all the men and boys came up and took over the wheel formation, blowing their Pan-pipes and playing *mabu*, of which there were two. The women returned to their usual role of dancing outside the circle in twos and threes, up to the men and away again, singing and making a hissing noise. They all wore aromatic plants tucked into their loin-cloths and into their hair. They gave me some to put in my belt, and begged me to join in the dancing, which I did, following the example of the other women. Some of the men were springing about in imitation of the movements made by a band of armed warriors attacking a village by stealth. This was apparently symbolical, as it is not a regular feature of their dances. They did not go on very late on this occasion.

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The next day was entirely uneventful. Wanias played about as usual, and there was no dancing or any other ritual.

On the following day there was great activity in preparation for the evening's events. Four pigs were killed in the early morning, and cooked in the usual manner. One had been killed some days before, and partly smoked, and another was cooked at a house some distance from the village, making six in all, each worth, to the natives, the equivalent of anything from £5 to £10 in our money, this indicating that the occasion was one of considerable importance.

Just before sundown Wanias was arrayed in several lengths of shell currency, which were wound round and round his waist. The ornamented hood was again laid over the two large taro plants, which now had black and red stripes painted on them. Behind, hanging from the roof of the hut, were two lengths of the most highly prized kind of ceremonial currency (*imun*), one made of the teeth of the flying fox, the other of porpoise teeth. This latter string was an heirloom of great value. To it was fastened a tooth of Pinari's (Wanias's mother's mother's brother) which had recently fallen out; a toe from the foot of Kakari (Wanias's mother's brother) which fell off a short time before as the result of a bad septic sore; and the little finger of a famous enemy.[1] Wanias was seated on the hood with these relics behind him. His hair was newly painted, red all over except for two dabs of black, one over each ear. All the other small children of the village were painted in the same manner.

The women began walking round as before, with the usual yells (*waki*). Presently Pesē hoisted Wanias on to the ceremonial pack which she carried, and went round with him seated on it. This is noteworthy, because, since she stands to him in the relation of *watʃitʃio*, in the ordinary way no physical contact is permitted between them. All his maternal relatives then started a ceremonial wailing, as for the dead. Matēv, his maternal grandmother, and her

[1] The story of this little finger is as follows: Sapia, a warrior of the Habon people who live in the hills, killed Bururuk, a *tsunaun* of the coast, cut off his finger and his mouth and took them back to the hills with him. The coast people killed Sapia in the bush. Mawon, a relative of Sapia, avenged him by killing some of the coast people. Ten men from coastal villages went and lay in wait for Mawon, who was eventually killed by Na'uston, Pinari's *tsoa* (mother's brother). Mawon was eaten, but Na'uston kept his little finger, in revenge for the similar insult to Bururuk, Na'uston's *kiar* ('brother'), and this is the relic that now hangs on the string of ceremonial currency.

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PLATE 17

WOMEN'S DANCE FOR WANIAS

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[facing p. 192]

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brother and sister, wailed loudest and most earnestly. Subsequent inquiry elicited the explanation that they were wailing because they were sorry for Wanias, who, being a *tsunaun*, and as such an object of envy, will probably fall a victim to 'poison' prepared by some one who is jealous of him.

The women walked round for some time, Pesē still carrying Wanias on the pack. Some were wailing the death wail, some were howling, and some yelling, as for a dance, with the slit-gong adding to the general din. Wanias was frightened, as well he might be, and began to cry. After a time his mother took him away to the women's side of the village and quieted him at the breast. Then all the women received baskets containing pig and ceremonial pudding, which they carried off with them to their own huts. The visitors from other villages departed laden with food and areca-nuts. Later there was a *kōma* which went on till well after sunrise.

The next day Wanias was taken to the taro garden sitting on his mother's pack in the usual manner of children. He continued to wear the strings of *beroan* round his waist for some time.

This brings the little *tsunaun* to the point where he ceases to be a baby. His further fortunes will be followed in the next chapter.

852 565 602 852 565 574 852 565

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I have counted as many as nine in a row, each with an arm round the waist of the woman on either side of her. They may also dance singly, and some women took great pride in so doing. One very tall woman frequently danced singly, with her baby in her arms. There are three movements, varied at the pleasure of the dancer: *nagat* (*tʃok-tʃok* P.) advancing and retreating to and from the circle of men, with a balancing step first on one foot and then on the other; *tnir* (*gumsu* P.) standing on one spot and rocking up and down with bent knees in a sort of 'jigging' movement, and *turap* (*pi* P.) which is a series of hops on the left foot only, with the right foot raised, its toe pointing to the ground. The general word for the women's dance is *sani* (*sõ'ol* P.).

The instruments are played for a period of a couple of minutes or so, the music then ceasing abruptly, with a very loud single note on the slit-gong, if it is being used. When it stops the women cease dancing, but the men and boys continue their round, while everybody sings variations on five notes, first up, then down, ending on a high last note which is drawn out as long as the breath holds, those who keep on longest being greeted with applause from the others, the whole usually ending in a burst of laughter. The women join in this vocal performance, which is called *waki* (*haki* P.). After another couple of minutes or so the slit-gong beats again, and the women continue their steps. The whole dance consists of nothing else but endless repetitions of these two alternatives, sometimes continued throughout the night till after dawn has broken. People join in it for a time, then go away and rest, or eat, and return when the spirit moves them, it does not matter, so long as some one is there to keep the thing going incessantly.

Although a *hõma* may be held for no particular reason except that the people want one, there are certain times at which it is proper to hold them, and is considered a ceremonial duty to join in them. During the weeks of preparation for the *watawut* ceremony the boys wearing the *upi* were expected to dance frequently, and were urged on by the elders when they showed signs of flagging interest (see Pl. 30*a*). The men danced also, but the women took no part in these particular affairs. The women have also certain occasions on which they dance by themselves, though they have a man to beat the slit-gong for them. One such occasion is a ceremony performed for a child on the occasion of his first being taken to the taro garden sitting on his

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535 852 mother's pack (see Pl. 17). At such times they take up the men's wheel formation.

535 184 At Tabut I once saw a variation of the women's steps, taking the form of imitative movements which might be called 'figures'. One represented getting water; some women danced in a ring and one in the centre imitated the action of pouring water into a coco-nut. Another 'figure' imitated the planting of taro. I saw nothing of the kind at Kurtatchi or any other village I visited, and the Kurtatchi women said they did not know how to dance in any other way than the usual.

USE OF COLOUR

386 302 Colouring matter is freely employed, both on the person and on the various objects manufactured. The colours in general use are red, black, white, and yellow, in that order of importance. There are several ways of obtaining each of these. Colouring matter used for personal adornment is mixed with coco-nut oil before being applied to skin or hair. The generic term for such a mixture is *us*, which I have translated 'paint'.

386 317 438 *Red.* Several kinds of red paint are distinguished by special names. They are all varieties of red oxide of iron (haematite),[1] formed in the neighbourhood of volcanoes by decomposing the vapours of ferric chloride with steam. The kind giving the brightest colour, and therefore the most highly prized, is called *oin*. It is obtained from the people living in the mountainous hinterland of Bougainville, who have access to the volcanoes in the interior. The natives of the east coast near Numanuma act as intermediaries to pass it on to the people of the north coast as an object of barter. *Owan*, a rather muddier red, consists of impure iron oxide with some iron sulphide, which might be obtained from an ironstone nodule embedded in a clay deposit. It can be found on Buka, but the exact locality is unknown to me. A third variety, intermediate in colour between the other two, but nearer to *oin*, is called *itʃu*, [439] and is used when *oin* is not available. At the present time the natives also paint their faces with carmine, which they get from the Chinese stores.

386 [824] Leaves and canes are dyed red with a preparation of *riro* (*Morinda citrifolia*). Details of its use are given in the sections

[1] For the identification of my samples I am indebted to Mr. C. J. Bayzand, University Demonstrator in Geology, Oxford.

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The belts made by women during the period of mourning

301 765 565 283 824 *tsunaun* (see Chap. XIV, p. 497, and Pl. 75) have a warp of the fibre growing round the base of the banana palm. The black threads in the weft are obtained from the trunk of the bush banana (*wirtsun*); white ones consist of the same substance scraped and rubbed with sand. The yellow threads are made from the midrib of the leaves of a plant called *kiki'ie* (*Cycas* sp.), dyed with *totomoin* (turmeric). The red threads of the specimen figured (in Pl. 75) were drawn from the maker's loin-cloth; in the olden days she would have taken leaves of the plant used in making the red part of the women's hoods, dyed with *riro* (*Morinda citrifolia*).

Deformation of the Person.

304 854 *Head.* Babies' heads are manipulated at birth and afterwards for some weeks, by pressing the hands at the back and sides to make them perpendicular. The effect desired is that which is increased by the method of hair-dressing. At birth it is done by the old women attending, frequently the grandmother, afterwards by the mother whenever she thinks of it. There is no 'cradle-board deformation'. Babies are put to sleep on the ground, on a woman's hood or a plank, but their position is varied, and they do not spend a great deal of time on their backs, so that no pressure is exercised in this way. No head-dress or bandage is used on babies. They are not nursed on the arm persistently enough to influence their head form at all.

304 *Nose.* A baby's nose is pinched soon after birth to make it grow long. A flat nose is much disliked and is a subject of ridicule. The septum is pierced at the age of five or six. It is done to children of both sexes, and is still general. The reason given is that if the septum is pierced, when the individual dies, the worms will go through the hole and will not eat the body.[1]

304 852 As a rule, a special feast is made on the occasion of the piercing. But if a feast is in progress for some other reason, it will be made to serve for the piercing as well. Should the village be in mourning for a *tsunaun*, so that no feast is permitted, the operation may be carried out without one, if the children's parents do not wish to delay it till the end of the mourning period. The actual

[1] See further discussion in Chap XIV. For another instance of the connexion between nose-piercing and the fate of the dead, cf. Codrington (1891, p. 256) who states that in Florida the ghosts of those whose noses were pierced could follow the easy path.

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operation should be performed either at sunrise or at sunset. If done in the heat of the day, 'the sun would make the wound sore'. 304 852

I saw the nose-piercing operation performed upon four boys at the village of Tung, W. Buka. They took advantage of the feast made for the new men's house, described in Chapter X, p. 389. The ages of the boys varied from about eight to about five; it was said that the youngest was included at his own request. One of the older men operated. I did not know the people well, and I omitted to ascertain whether he was chosen for any special reason. The boy came and sat on the platform in front of the new 'men's house'. The operator first warmed his index finger and thumb against a piece of smouldering wood, then pinched the septum, drawing it outwards. The hole was then made with an iron pig-spear, which was held in the septum for a few moments. In the olden days it was done with a sharply pointed piece of hard wood from the tree called *ariko*, a species of areca-nut. As soon as it was withdrawn a small stick was inserted. There seemed to be no bleeding. The first boy hardly made a sound and did not wince at all. He had a clam-shell nose-piece inserted instead of the stick. The second victim howled and tried to get away, and was held down by another man. The other two, including the youngest, flinched just a little, and whimpered. After the stick had been put in, the operator heated his finger and thumb again and pressed them against the front of the septum, pushing backwards. As soon as the operation was finished, the boys went to the back of the hut, where a screen of sago-palm leaves had been put up for them, dividing the hut into two unequal halves. I was told that they would stay there for a week without coming out. If they looked at a stone or the root of a coco-nut tree, the wound would become sore. At the end of the week they would go and wash it in the sea. Later a larger piece of cane would be given them.

Nose-pieces of clam-shell (*ahuin*) are worn by both sexes and all ages. They vary in size, curvature, and weight (see Pl. 67, no. 7). They are generally kept for ceremonial occasions, a bit of stick or a rolled-up leaf being substituted on ordinary days, but there is nothing to prevent any one from wearing the *ahuin* at any time if desired. Whatever is worn through the septum is easily removable; many people have a habit of moving it backwards and forwards with the index-finger and thumb as they walk or talk. 301 155 201

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The 'unofficial' marking consists of cuts made with a shell or a piece of glass, some more or less random as to their direction, some in sets of three, when they are supposed to represent the trail of the hermit crab (*sisir a kobar*). They are made on the arms or chest (see Pl. 11). Or a weal in the shape of a hollow circle may be made on the chest by pressing the hot bowl of a pipe against the skin; this is called *wawa'ets*. A small, solid, round weal, frequently seen in rows down the back of the arm, is made by pressing the cut end of the stem of a leaf of the tree called *lasebē* on the skin. A white milky sap is exuded which after a day or two causes an eruption not unlike that consequent upon vaccination which leaves a permanent weal, but it does not 'take' on some people. To mark themselves in this way is a favourite amusement with young girls. Scars are also made by pressing the stalk of a coco-nut, which has been heated in the fire, on to the surface of the skin. There is no ceremonial attached to these forms of marking.

The formal cicatrization is a much more elaborate affair. A man is usually scarred on chest and shoulders and the upper portion of the back, a woman all over her chest and abdomen, and frequently also on the thigh, not quite to the knee. Some people have the face scarred; in this case the body is not done (Pl. 69*a*). Certain patterns are signs of rank, others may be used by any one. The amount of cutting done depends entirely on the wish of the parents. It is not hereditary, but a father will often have his son cut with the same pattern as he has himself. Not every native is thus marked. Some account for their untouched skins by saying that they ran away at the time the ceremony was to be held, in which case it is not, as a rule, forced upon them later. It is gradually falling into disuse, being severely discouraged by the missionaries.

I did not see the operation performed. Nawi, the girl whose first menstruation ceremony is described in Chapter VIII, was ready for marking, but she was to go to the village of Baniu, where she had relatives, for the ceremony, as soon as there was enough taro for the necessary food-distribution accompanying it. The ceremony could not be performed at Kurtatchi because the *watawatʃ* had not been performed for the boys; pending this the cutting ceremony was taboo. If it were done, the girl would die, and her relatives would be very angry and 'make poison' to kill the people who had committed this breach of rule. The mere possibility was referred to with horror, and appeared to amount to

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304 852 sacrilege. The ceremony for Nawi was actually arranged, and Nawi was escorted over to Baniu for the purpose, but she and another girl ran away and hid in the bush, a third was ill, and as only one more child was ready for it, the ceremony was abandoned. When I left the island they were still uncertain whether it would be held at all.

The subjoined account of the procedure was obtained mainly from Pari, one of the older women, herself a woman of rank and heavily marked. As usual, it was commented upon freely by the audience, who prompted her when she left out any detail they considered of importance.

[887] The cutting is done by old women. Some people are well known for their skill, and are much in demand. The names of three were [614] given to me, one at Tabut, one at Ruri, and one at Timputs. The woman usually belongs to the same clan as the child, e.g. a Nakarib woman will not, as a rule, undertake to cut a Naboin child; she would be too much ashamed. But if the child's mother's people, i.e. his relatives of the Naboin clan, very much desire the cutting to be done by a certain woman, she may be persuaded to undertake it even though she belongs to the Nakarib clan.

304 565 437 If the child is *tsunaun* and has an elaborate pattern, a fathom of *imun* (currency made of flying fox or porpoise teeth, worth about £5 in native opinion) may be paid for the operation. The child's mother pays it direct to the woman herself. For a commoner, other things of less value are given.

304 852 The children are not told what is going to happen to them. If they find out they often run away.

On the day before that fixed for the operation, a basket is filled with the black-lip oyster-shell knives which are to be used. This basket is rubbed over the back of a pig, which is then allowed to run away. The purpose of this action is to prevent the skin of the child from being hard and difficult to cut. All the women take the basket in turn and carry it round and round as they *kōma*. They *kōma* all night.

Next day the people all collect, and some men go and cut poles to make a platform for the child to lie upon. The women carry the poles back to the village, each woman carrying one. When they reach the village they put the poles on their shoulders and walk round in a circle and *kōma* with them. Then they are laid on the ground in front of the principal house. The men put in posts for

The new put in posts for

them to rest on. The platform, when finished, is about 2 feet wide and about 4 feet from the ground. (Measurements shown by gestures.) 304 852 [417]

A number of children are usually operated on at one time. The child of most importance is taken first. He is made to lie on the platform, and some women hold him down. The child's mother, father, brothers, and sisters must stay inside their own huts. They must not see the operation; if they did, the child's skin would prove hard, the knife would break, and the operation would be a lengthy one, and would probably not be finished at sunset. If this should happen, the mother takes the child away at sunset, and the marking is left unfinished. It may, however, be finished subsequently. [554]

The woman who is to do the cutting prepares herself by chewing the root of the plant *mogo* with the betel-mixture, and rubbing the mixture on her hand. This ensures that she will cut quickly and that her hand will not be heavy. [824]

All the time the operation is proceeding the women *kōma* and the slit-gong is beaten. They say that this is done so that the child will not feel the pain of the cutting, but my informants admitted that they knew it had no such effect, but merely drowned the child's cries. [533]

Women hold the child's legs and arms, and a man holds his head back so that he cannot see what is being done. If the face is to be cut, this is done first, no further marking being cut until the face has healed, or the body may be left without marks. The children to be operated on subsequently are kept inside the hut.

The child cries and screams all the time. He will say: 'Oh, mother, I am dying of thirst, let me come down and have a drink,' or, 'Father, come and take me away, I am dying.' He says to the woman who is holding him: 'Put me down; I want to go and relieve myself.' He is only making an excuse to get away. The woman takes no notice.

A big branch of the tree called *reyto* (which has soft leaves) is planted near the platform, the leaves are used to wipe away the blood at intervals so that the operator can see what she has done. The blood is caught in a *kōbū* (dish made of areca-nut fibre). It is then thrown into the sea at a certain place. This place is taboo for fishing, and women may not get shell-fish from the reef there. For Kurtatchi, the place is called Ur; it is on the beach a few hundred [824] 304 226 784

[Use poles for the horizontal section of the platform—A.]

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yards west of the site of the present village. A big stone called *Musoa banui* marks the place.

When the cutting is finished, the skin is first washed, then lime is rubbed in. *Tanek* (betel-pepper) is chewed and spat upon the place. Then a dry coco-nut is scraped, and a pinch of the scraped meat is taken between the finger and thumb of the operator and dabbed on to the sores. This is to make the scab of the sore come off so that it will not fester underneath. If the sore becomes septic, coco-nut oil is rubbed into it, and pith from the stem of the plant *rurupari*. If the cuts are made too deep, they 'break open the belly' and the child dies. The names of two Kurtatchi children who had died in this way were given to me.

When one child is finished, the man who has held his head takes him on his shoulder and goes round and round while all the women *kōma* and the slit-gong is beaten. The child is then taken into the house and another brought out.

After all the children have been cut there is a small feast. One pig is set aside for it, and the women prepare taro. The food is distributed among those present; they all eat; then the platform is taken up by the men and brought into the hut.

After the operation is finished, the children must stop inside the house for ten days, only coming out to relieve themselves. The girls must put on their hoods whenever they come out for this purpose. If they do not, or if children of either sex walk about too much, white ants will get into the sores and make them very painful. A girl who is cut about the thighs is so sore that she cannot bear to wear a loin-cloth, but goes naked.

As a rule, several children are cut at one time, both boys and girls. Naniu, Tapē, Bori, Puta, and Tawar were all cut together. This indicates that the ages vary considerably, since Maniu and Tawar are now, I estimate, about 9 or 10, Bori about 19, and Tapē and Puta somewhat older then Bori. It is best to have the operation done when the child is young. Some are cut much later and are sometimes made very ill by it.

The effect of the operation can be seen from the photographs (Pls. 69, 70). Not infrequently the wounds become septic and heal badly, with results which we should think very disfiguring, but which do not seem to be so considered by the natives, though they are not admired as much as well-marked patterns. By no means extreme cases of badly healed cicatrization are shown in Pl. 71.

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SOME ECONOMIC MATTERS

Some occasions for the use of imun 436

1 fathom given to pay for making bull-roarer.
1 fathom given to old man for making *upi* for *wapi* ceremony.
1 fathom paid for making slit-gong, together with 10 bamboos of paint.
1 fathom given to old woman who performs the operation of cicatrization on a *tsunaun* child.
Several fathoms involved in marriage transactions, number according to whether woman is *tsunaun* or commoner. [583]
1 fathom hung up at door of house to remove *wagun* taboos. [584]
1 fathom given to mother-in-law if inadvertently seen by daughter's husband. [606]
1 fathom given as peace offering from one individual to another with whom he has quarrelled, 'to make good the other man's belly'. [627] [766]
Hung up on the occasion of the funerary rites for a *tsunaun*.
Hung up at the ceremony for a *tsunaun* child when he first sits on his mother's pack. [852]

DISCUSSION

The methods practised in this area illustrate three, if not all four, of the stages which mark 'the evolution of primitive commerce from simple exchange to a coinage system' (H. Balfour, lectures given at the Pitt-Rivers Museum). According to his view the simplest is a process of barter whereby one kind of goods is exchanged for another, the rate of exchange being whatever is mutually agreed upon at the time. Then, for convenience, an agreed rate of exchange is adopted, certain goods being given a fixed value which remains constant. The objects of fixed value may then be termed currency. Much of the trading described in the preceding pages falls somewhere between these two, the rates for, say, the exchange of fish and taro being more or less stable between any two districts, but no absolute value being adopted.[1] With the introduction of sticks of tobacco at the rate of three for a shilling the second stage is definitely reached. The stable values of lengths of shell disks and of teeth also qualify them to be classed as currency. The third or 'money' stage, in which some objects are set apart, 436 437

[1] It is noted by Thurnwald (1912, vol. iii, p. 36) that in Buin (S. Bougainville) only similar kinds of things are exchanged; a thing for temporary use, such as food, will not be exchanged for something permanently lasting, such as a tool. It will be seen that in Buka [illegible] North Bougainville, while this holds good in general, e.g. for the fish-taro exchange, it is not universal, since taro may be given in exchange for pots and for *hôbé*.

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324 —found it in the ground. He set it up in front of his house, which used to stand where the stone now is; the place was once the site of a village. The *tsunaun* of the village gave the man who found it some ceremonial currency for it. He put paint on it, and made a big feast, and gave the stone to Nawi, his sister's daughter, when she was a baby. Nawi is now a girl of about thirteen. The ceremony held when such a stone is given to a child is called *Wawalug*. There were traces of red paint on it and on the little stones. Pinari said that the paint was put on in the same pattern as was used on the heads of the people on ceremonial occasions, a line of black down the middle with broad bands of red on both sides of it. They also put coco-nut oil on the stone, and decorate it with flowers and leaves. Before doing this they kill a pig and cook it, and wash the stone in the water.

[776] Nawi has not seen it yet. When she wishes to look at it for the first time she will have to make a feast and take some food and give it to the stone, and the *urar* of the stone will eat it. Then if Nawi wishes to remove the stone and put it in front of her house in the present village of Kurtatchi, it will be all right, but if any one else moved it, it would find its way back.

Stone pillars (?) reported but not visited

324 I was told that there is a stone pillar, said to be similar to the one at Yamē, at Raua Plantation, on the coast of Bougainville several miles to the east of Kurtatchi. Another is reported on the west coast of Buka, near the R.C. Mission at Bonotui. To my great regret, circumstances did not permit of my visiting either of these. As far as my informants knew, there were no designs upon them, but in view of the ignorance of the Iltopan people of the pattern on 'A Pi', concealed as it was by moss and fungus, such reports are probably not to be relied upon.

Stone monument at Tiop

778 At Tiop, an island at the north-eastern corner of Bougainville, there is a group of stones which are not pillars, but flat slabs of limestone, apparently unworked. There is no trace of a design upon them. There are two large slabs and two smaller ones (Pl. 80). One of the large slabs stands upright, the two smaller ones, also upright, are at its base, the other large slab lies flat on the ground. It seemed to be quite firmly embedded, but the natives could give

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me no information as to whether it had fallen or whether this was its original position.

These stones represent a man and his wife and their two children. The whole group goes by the name of Tohihiu. They are said to 'belong to' a man living in the village, who is of the Nakarib clan; he was described as their kinsman. When a child is born to a woman who is of his lineage the child's mother brings the baby to the place, a pig is killed and cut up, and the stones are washed with its blood. In the olden days it was customary on these occasions to make a raid into the mountains, bring home a prisoner from one of the mountain villages, eat him, and bring his head to the stones with the child: the head was then buried underneath the stones.[1] Then the women would collect quantities of taro 'belonging to the stones'; this would be eaten at the spot. It did not appear that the stones were themselves thought to eat any of it. Whenever a feast is due to be held to mark some epoch in the life of a child of the appropriate lineage, he is taken to the stones, and when the time comes for his skin to be cicatrized, that is done there also. Not very long before my visit a little boy had undergone this operation at the stones. When I examined them there were still traces upon them of the red paint with which they had been smeared on that occasion. (This is not necessarily to be regarded as a substitute for blood, as it is in itself a sacred substance which plays a part in many ceremonial activities, as described in previous chapters.)

Discussion

It was a matter of great concern to me that I could not get more information concerning these stone pillars. I am convinced that the ignorance professed by the natives was not assumed, and that they would have told me more details had they known any more themselves. The surprise of the Iltopan people when I laid bare the design on the stone 'A Pi' was most certainly genuine. It would seem as though the pillars had been set up in times past in connexion with some ritual that has been abandoned for so long that all memory of it has disappeared.

One of the missionaries told me that he understood from the

[1] A short time before my visit fragments of a human skull had been discovered in the vicinity of the stones during some digging in connexion with a new building for the Mission.

Birth and Children

In Buka and north Bougainville, as far as I could ascertain, there are no special ceremonies when a child is born. In south Bougainville a great feast (called marromarro) is prepared during pregnancy by the women of the community whereby numerous dishes play an important rôle. This feast is celebrated outside of the village; the husbands are not allowed to be present, but the women are kind enough to send them an abundant portion of the delicacies they serve; cuscus (a phalanger) roast is especially preferred on these occasions. If a son is born to a chieftain, this is the occasion for special celebrations. Neither the infant nor the mother is permitted to leave the hut until the child is 1 1/2 to 2 years old. Then great amounts of food are prepared, and on a certain day a great feast takes place accompanied by dancing and singing. On this occasion the son and mother come out into the light of day and are admired and marveled at. In Buka and north Bougainville a similar ceremony takes place, but only when the boy is 7 to 8 years old. He is not kept inside until the time of this festivity, but can move about as he pleases within and outside the hut. The feast consists of a colossal meal, and a special dance (called hesinna) is connected with it. Also a special song is rendered by the dancers that begins with the words: lili a manu etc. (for the song as well as the music cf. the relevant chapter). The singers and dancers form a broad circle, and each one holds in his hand an approximately 1 1/2 meter long bamboo cane, the lower end of which is closed by one of the natural segments of the reed. In tempo with the melody they move in a circle and at the same time strike the bamboo cane (called zekull) on the ground, producing a hollow roaring sound.

Infanticide and abortion -- horrible practices that are still quite widespread even today on the Solomon Islands situated farther to the southeast -- do not occur here so extensively. [9] A proof of this is the great number of children that one encounters everywhere in the villages in Buka and Bougainville. When more peaceful conditions finally come about, this population will surely increase rapidly. As the situation stands today, the numerous feuds and, connected with them, the unstable life in the open, are not factors that contribute to population increase.

Cannibalism, here as on the other islands of the South Seas, seems not to have originated in the lack of other animal nourishment, but in the need to express the greatest abasement that can be shown to an enemy. To be sure, I know of cases in which cannibalism has become a passion; such cases nevertheless are probably rather isolated. On the other hand, I also know of cases in which natives refused to take part in cannibal meals, not because these meals caused them any moral qualms, but because they simply did not have any taste for this food. On the island of Torotzian the local chieftain is a great warrior who annually undertakes expeditions to Bougainville, which lies opposite, and has no compunction about killing his enemies; yet I know for a fact that he has tasted no human meat since his childhood. He is present when the bodies are cut up, distributes the various pieces, and observes the feast that follows with the greatest composure, without in the least urging anyone else to follow his example. At various times I have asked him as well as his people his reasons for this exceptional behavior, and the sole reason for his dislike of human meat was always: "He does not like it," his people said; "It does not taste good," he said.

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Scarification

Everywhere in the region in question there prevails the custom of scarification of certain parts of the body, whereby certain patterns are produced. On the almost black skin of the Solomon Islanders a tattoo would leave no traces; scarification, however, leaves visible marks and replaces tattooing there. I have the impression that this skin decoration is practiced more frequently in the north than in the south, but even in the north it is not general, and you see a great many individuals without any skin markings.

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Scarification of the skin is executed by men as well as women--the latter, however, seem to have the greatest artistic proficiency; both treat boys as well as girls. The process takes place somewhere between the 7th and the 11th year. For scratching the skin they use a sharpened shell (kappi in Buka). First the face is scarified (A. B. Meyer and R. Parkinson, Album von Papuatypen, Plates 26 and 27); the pattern consists of certain parallel zigzag lines arranged according to a set system. The facial scarification is called

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it is played in harmony. [Translator's note: one line of music omitted.] This melody, constructed on four tones, is played in a not-too-rapid tempo and repeated several times; the last measure is sustained for a long time and the last chord is gradually decrescendoed. Six-tone songs have a melody that is somewhat more complicated but of the very same nature. They do not always dance to this melody; but when they do the men group themselves in such a way [16] that they form rows which emanate radiuslike from the musicians in the center. When the music begins, the dancers begin to revolve around the center; the ones who are closest to the center walk at a measured pace; but the farther the dancer is situated from the middle, the longer he must make his steps in order to stay in line; the ones who are situated farthest from the center must make long leaps in order to keep up at all; for this reason only youths and older boys dance in the extreme outside row. The dancers hold their bows and arrows in their hands, rattle them, and add variety to the music by a shrill whistle every now and then. The song that is sung on this occasion, however, scarcely deserves the name. It consists of a constant repetition of the sound 'o' in the bass clef and the sound 'a' in the treble; these two sounds follow the melody and the phrase of the Panpipe band precisely; this is the only song with musical accompaniment. The previously described dance is performed only by men and boys; women never participate.

Melodies that make use of our whole scale cannot be reproduced because of the limited range of the Panpipe; they are sung therefore, without any actual musical accompaniment, but always accompanied by a monotonous tone that is produced in one way or another. The following melody is one example: [Translator's note: one line of music and text omitted.] The second verse has almost the same wording as the first but with the difference that the word malawolo (a sea fish as is siliholo) replaces the word siliholo. This song is sung in unison when the approximately 10 year old boys are publicly introduced by the dance ha hesinnia in Buka. The singers and dancers form a wide circle, and each holds in his hands a bamboo cane approximately 120 centimeters long and as thick as the human arm. At every step they beat the ground with it producing

a dull sound. The song is sung softly by all the singers, the tempo is slow like a slow march, and the step is accordingly slow with slightly bent knees. Men as well as women take part in this performance. 533 535 852

In Buka and north Bougainville I have seen other dances with very elegant steps performed--both by one sex alone as well as by both together. The dancers stand in rows, sometimes in couples next to each other and sometimes in rows opposite each other; the movements consisted of delicate steps (especially the female dancers gave an astonishing performance) as well as knee bends, twistings and undulations of the hips, and slow movements of the arms. These dances could very well be executed in a European ballroom, only I fear that few people would subject themselves to the effort of practicing them. Dances of this sort can only be executed by people who, like the Solomon Islanders, practice and study almost daily, from youth on, the complicated steps with the most varied bodily movements. Flower and foliage garlands around various parts of the body, flower bouquets in the hands and painting of the body red and white go along with these dances. The song that accompanies these dances is always soft and subdued; unfortunately I was not able to get hold of and write down the melody. 535 [302]

On the Shortland Islands I wrote down a few melodies but unfortunately not the words. They are the following: [Translator's note: two lines of music omitted.] Both melodies were sung in harmony. At the same time the singers walked around in a circle at a rather rapid march tempo; even half-grown children took part in it, and the [17] high children's voices in conjunction with the deeper accompanying voices of the adults produced a very harmonious song which sounded nice even to a European ear. 533 171

When the men go to sea in their large boats, they generally begin singing the previously-mentioned song consisting of 'o' and 'a'; for this same simple text there are still other melodies, which are sung on this occasion. The shovel-shaped oars are dipped into the water in rhythm with the song, sometimes faster and sometimes slower according to the tempo. 533